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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers examines issues related to the preparation of teachers to effectively educate all children, regardless of differences. After "Introduction" (Sabrina Hope King and Louis A. Castenell, Jr.), the six papers include: (1) "The Criticality of Racism in Education at the Dawn of the New Millennium" (Beverly M. Gordon); (2) "Untold Stories: Implications for Understanding Minority Preservice Teachers' Experiences" (Rosebud Elijah); (3) "Historical White Resistance to Equity in Public Education: A Challenge to White Teacher Educators" (Beatrice S. Fennimore); (4) "Professional Development: An Important Partner in Antiracist Teacher Education" (Beverly Daniel Tatum); (5) "Seven Principles Underlying Socially Just and Ethically Inclusive Teacher Preparation" (Michael O'Loughlin); and (6) "Seeing With Different Eyes: Reexamining Teachers' Expectations Through Racial Lenses" (A. Lin Goodwin). The final paper is a conclusion: "Tenets to Guide Antiracist Teacher Education Practice" (Sabrina Hope King and Louis A. Castenell, Jr.). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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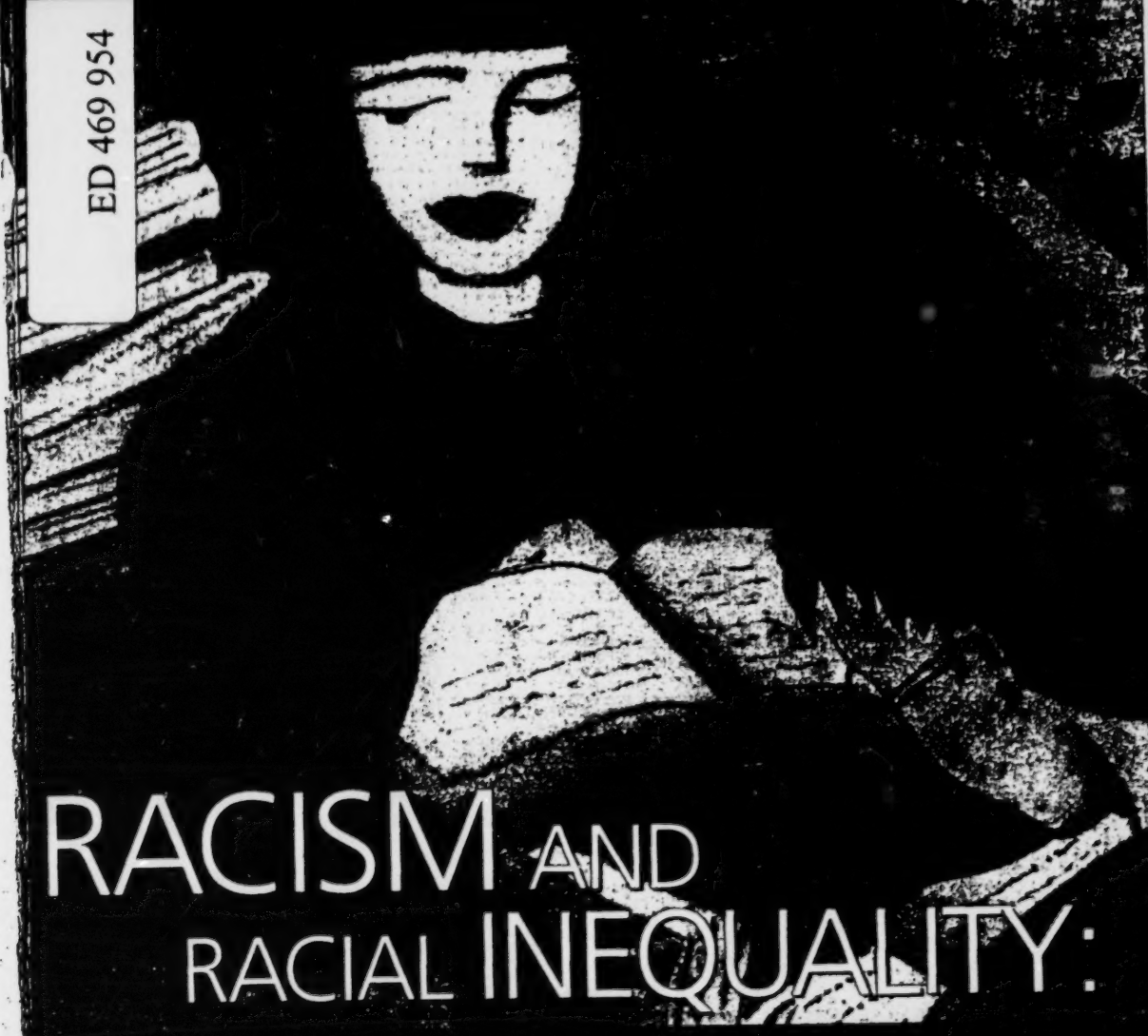

RACISM AND RACIAL INEQUALITY:

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

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Racism and Racial Inequality: Implications for Teacher Education

Sabrina Hope King and Louis A. Castenell

Editors

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is a national, voluntary association of colleges and universities with undergraduate or graduate programs to prepare professional educators. The Association supports programs in data gathering, equity, leadership development, networking, policy analysis, professional issues, and scholarship.

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THE PAST IS PROLOGUE

According to the Gregorian calendar, we have entered the 3rd millennium of the Christian era. Other, more ancient cultures still extant today mark the current year as one of 5,000, 8,000, or 11,000 years of historical evolution. The current year is lunar year 4698 in the traditional Chinese calendar, Jews worldwide accept it as the year 5760-61, and archaeoastronomic pictographic and petroglyphic records of native peoples of the Americas span more than 10,000 years. This diverse calendric reckoning provides a simple metaphor for the complex issues of diversity facing the United States today. Regardless of how one marks the era, it is critically important to recognize that our reality is analyzed and interpreted differently according to our own endogenous perspectives—especially when one deals with the issues of "race," racial inequality, and racism as they exist in the United States today. Specifically, these issues are important, because they impact the preparation of educators who, ideally, teach for educational equity and social justice as well as for "content area competence," "learning skill development," and "higher-order thinking."

In historical context, one must recognize that the notion of "race" as we use it in the United States today is a concept that is approximately 500 years old. Ronald Takaki, in his important 1993 work, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (New York: Little, Brown) posits that "racialization" is primarily an Anglo construct applied to uncivilized, "savage" populations "of color," principally the Irish, Africans, and Native American Indians. The sequence of racialization applied to these populations by Takaki might be argued. But the introductions of Caliban, the Indian, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and the Moor in *Othello* present a popular and prevalent attitude of the English toward the original inhabitants of their colonies and the other nations they exploited. In the United States, the

codification of "race" occurred in the early 1800s as Anglo America sought to reconcile the dilemmas of democracy and slavery by reifying white racial superiority in law, economics, religion, and education.

One might have hoped that 17th through 19th century racially discriminatory practices might have disappeared by the 21st century, especially in the formative and informative practice of education. Race and racial inequality, however, have been societal as well as educational constructs of considerable importance and significant disparate impact in the recent past century. Despite the findings in *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Lau v. Nichols*, white, Anglo superiority remains recodified in the *Bakke* and *Hopwood* decisions. Despite the intent of affirmative action stemming from the civil rights actions of the 1960s and 1970s, white females, not "racialized" numerical minority populations, have been the greatest beneficiaries of affirmative action. Despite the societal influences of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Rodney King, Abner Loumia, and Amadou Diallo, the racialized microcosm of schools is identical to the racialized macroculture of America.

A more recent conceptual history has evolved, which has changed the labels attached to our discussion of racialization in education. In the 1950s through the early 1970s, "race and ethnic relations" was the terminology applied to the interaction of underrepresented populations of color with the American macroculture, especially in education. This terminology spoke primarily to the "black-white" extremes of racialization as noted in society, including the codification of race in U.S. census reporting, demographic identification, and the larger field of human relations in employment practices. With the addition of gender, identification of females as a protected class, and the expansion from Puerto Rican to a more inclusive "Hispanic/Latino/Chicano" population under affirmative action, the society began to further define the category of "other," contemporaneously associated with Negroid and Caucasian racialization. The Asian/Pacific Islander classification joined that of American Indian, resulting in the elimination of "other" as a utilitarian or rational racial construct. Particularist studies of ethnic groups emerged in higher education in the early 1970s, offering broader perspectives of American racial and ethnic consciousness.

Some 20 years ago, the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education" emerged, generally replacing race and ethnic relations as the primary construct for articulating human differences. Culture and cultural interaction, more broadly defined, included recent immigrant populations, language minorities, religion, and economic class distinctions as elements of importance in the multicultural dialogue. In approximately the last decade, inclusion of "special needs" populations and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in particular has led to the use of the word "diversity" as the conceptual framework for discussion of human differences in the United States. With each successive redefinition and inclusion of additional marginalized populations, the discussion of difference changed substantively.

Some would argue that social and political changes, including the notion of what constitutes political correctness, have diminished the importance of race and racial inequality in the educational dialogue. Political correctness has taken the guise of tolerance and teaching for tolerance as a contemporary evolution of the macroculture's human relations response to diversity in the 1950s through early 1970s. Rodney King reaffirmed the deep institutionalization of the superficial construct of tolerance when he asked, "Why can't we all just get along?" Affirmative action, writ large, has been assailed in the courts, legislation, and popular culture as no longer necessary. This latter process is largely the result of the macrocultural perception that the playing field for underrepresented populations has been leveled and that underrepresentation therefore no longer exists.

Yet race and racialization continue to be deeply embedded in the national psyche and in societal practices. We have managed to water down our response to the deeper questions in our evolution from race and ethnic relations through multiculturalism to diversity. Political correctness is little more than practical xenophobia, allowing superficial, "polite," and nonpejorative terminology to mask unchanged social constructions of racial superiority and inferiority. The intellectual and educational dialogue about race and racialization is the "incomplete conversation" we have carried into the current century.

To see the educational impact of this history of racialization, one need merely step into the average public school classroom. There,

one will observe an overwhelmingly white and female teaching corps teaching an overwhelmingly Eurocentric curriculum derived from an overwhelmingly western canon. Though well intentioned and passionate about teaching "all children," the overwhelming majority of these bright and committed teachers are overwhelmingly underprepared to equitably teach for, with, and to diverse student populations. Embedded in this discussion is an overwhelmingly vital need to broaden the preparation of teachers to include curricula, concepts, and contexts that go beyond "tolerance" to antiracism.

The authors of the papers in this volume reopen the dialogue that has been characterized as "the incomplete conversation." In doing so, they begin to fill a gap in the literature, the public dialogue in education, and the more immediate concern of preparing teachers to effectively educate all children, regardless of differences. They center their conversations on the preparation of teachers and the role of teacher educators as change agents and transformative educators committed to educational equity and issues of social justice. The authors place antiracism as a construct in the forefront of the agenda for teacher education reform. Through their experiences and diverse areas of academic specialization, they present breadth and depth of articulation of racialization in education. They provide us with a conceptual and historical matrix for understanding, practical approaches to the antiracist education of teachers, responses to resistance, and opportunities for the macroculture to become as engaged in antiracist education as are teachers and teacher educators of color.

Given attention to the information provided in this volume, we are afforded greater opportunities to make educational choices that support educational equity. If, as the contemporary standards movement in teacher professionalization informs us, what teachers know and can do in educational settings is directly linked to students' learning, then this volume provides a powerful contribution to the public dialogue in education. Not only do teacher educators benefit, but their students—and those whom their graduates will teach—benefit as well.

David Whitehorse
Chair, AACTE Committee on Multicultural Education
San Marcos, California
March 2000

INTRODUCTION

Sabrina Hope King and Louis A. Castenell, Jr.

In the year 2000, it is striking that racism and racial inequality continue to be pervasive problems in American society, but a new millennium provides a hopeful opportunity for individuals and institutions to examine their roles in efforts needed to eradicate the perpetuation of racism and racial inequality. This monograph focuses on the roles of teacher education institutions in antiracist educational practice. The advent of the millennium presents an opportunity for teacher education institutions to dedicate their efforts toward ensuring that generations of young people will be provided with educational and life opportunities that bear no relationship to racial advantage or racial disadvantage.

The monograph addresses a case for the centrality of antiracism in teacher education at the front and center of the teacher education reform agenda, and it includes six essays that examine the roles of teacher education institutions in antiracist education practice and tenets to guide antiracist teacher education practice.

THE NEED FOR TEACHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS TO BE AT THE CENTER OF THE STRUGGLE TO ERADICATE RACISM

Although we believe that all institutions have a role to play in the struggle against racism in American society, this monograph focuses on the unique responsibility of teacher education institutions. While all of our nation's teachers do not receive formal teacher preparation or attend schools of education as part of their training, schools of education *are* the most influential professional institutions in the preparation and development of our nation's teachers. In turn, our nation's teachers possess the critical responsibility and honor to teach *all* of our nation's children and youth, the citizens and leaders of future generations. Increasingly, we are moving toward the reality

that teachers are responsible for or are at least partners with parents, other educators, role models, and significant others in teaching subject matter and competencies for survival, success, and enjoyment in this life. We argue that teacher education institutions need to understand that to prepare teachers with the will and the strategies to teach all children, fighting racism has to be the bottom line.

How often have we encountered PK-12 schools immersed in professional development activities focused on discrete topics such as "literacy development" or "using math manipulatives" without addressing tensions, attitudes, or practices between faculty or faculty and students that are often based on race, culture, or perceptions of possibility? At the very least, we know that serious problems in terms of intergroup relations in this country still exist (Schofield, 1995). Schofield notes that because of extensive residential segregation in the United States, children often have their first relatively close and extended opportunity for interaction with individuals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds once they are in school. Such problems influence educational experiences and outcomes. Further, integrating students is not sufficient to ensure positive social outcomes (Schofield). Thus, teachers, through their teacher preparation, must be able to mediate these environments and prepare teachers to be able to teach students to live within the context of a racist environment and to work to change it. (Living within the context of racism, for example, is very different for Euro-American and African American students.)

We need to address racism and racial inequality within the context of overall needs for teacher education reform. Much of the teacher education reform literature over the past decade has focused on

- Developing truly collaborative university/school partnerships (e.g., professional development schools);
- Preparing Euro-American students for teaching within the context of diversity;
- Increasing competencies on teacher certification exams;
- Increasing standards for accreditation and learning purposes;
- Increasing the number of teachers of color; and
- Increasing the performance of PK-12 students.

Teacher education programs have to prepare teachers to be able to teach their subject area and students in meaningful ways. Yet they also have to be enlightened to the reality that teachers can and often do have a profound influence on the lives of students and the choices that their students make in and out of school. If racism and indicators of racial inequality continue to be pervasive aspects of American society, then teacher education must add this work to its reform agenda. Just as national reports speak to the need for schools of education to prepare students so that they can be globally competitive, so that they can pass basic national exams, so that students can work together in the classroom and be prepared to work cooperatively in the corporate environment, so must schools of education prepare teachers who will be inclined and able to prepare students to be antiracist (e.g., not to avoid certain neighborhoods and the children who live in them who need the best teachers). The *words* racism and racial inequality as well as a *plan* to attack racism and racial inequality need to be front and center in the teacher education reform agenda.

The word *racism* has many contradictory understandings. This monograph is informed by the understanding that racism refers to attitudes, actions, or institutional structures that subordinate a person or group because of their color, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (as cited in Bennett, 1995b), and that lead to an experience in this country of racial advantage or racial disadvantage (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997).

We differentiate between the words *racism* and *prejudice*. Whereas prejudicial attitudes can be possessed by any racial or cultural group and involve a set of personal beliefs about a social group that lead individuals to prejudge people from that group in general, racism in the United States refers to the "systematic subordination of members of targeted racial groups who have relatively little social power (Blacks, Latino/as, Native Americans, and Asians), by members of the agent racial group who have relatively more social power (Whites)" (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997, p. 88). It is possible to think of racism in terms of individual actions and institutional structures and actions.

Individual racism can be conscious or unconscious; it includes the beliefs, actions, and attitudes of individuals that support or perpetuate racism (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997). Individual racism is the belief that one's race is superior to another (racial prejudice) and

corresponding behavior that suppresses members of the so-called inferior group (Alladin, 1996). It also may include overt acts that are committed by white people and directed at people of color and cause death, injury, or violent destruction of property (Bennett, 1995a).

Institutional racism involves institutional structures, policies, and practices that create advantages and benefits for whites and oppression and discrimination for people of color. Institutional racism is sometimes less overt and often manifests itself in established policies and practices (Bennett, 1995a). "Institutional racism consists of those established laws, customs, and practices that systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities, regardless of whether individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions" (Alladin, 1996, p. 12) or hold beliefs of prejudice or racism.

Both individual and institutional acts and policies can occur with or without intentional, conscious prejudice and may be based on ignorance (Bennett, 1995b).

PERSPECTIVES

The following six essays offer diverse perspectives on racism in teacher education. It is important for teacher educators to consider the institutional and individual instances of racism as they contemplate enhanced and focused directions of their work on the important teacher education reform issues of racism and racial inequality. This monograph serves to remind us of the many manifestations and implications of racism and racial inequality and fosters contemplation of the connections of these issues to our practice. It can also serve as a mandate for action by all involved in teacher education who understand that what we choose to do in teacher education significantly shapes lives in the classroom and our world. Education is power, and education has the power to change lives.

We remind ourselves that within any given teacher education institution as well as within the teacher education academy writ large, different lived realities exist, depending upon one's race (and corresponding experiences of racial advantage or racial disadvantage), varying degrees of understanding, sense of urgency, interest, and ownership of the realities of racism and racial inequality. In addition to different lived realities and perspectives are different kinds of work within teacher education institutions.

We begin the exploration of such diverse perspectives with the following essays, which explore the need to combat racism from diverse vantage points within teacher education institutions. This monograph includes perspectives of teacher educators of color and Euro-American educators. While the literature on white privilege is useful, it is important to recognize that it is not the only lens focused on antiracist teacher education work.

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CHAPTER 1

THE CRITICALITY OF RACISM IN EDUCATION AT THE DAWN OF THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Beverly M. Gordon

> Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it. (Fanon, 1963, p. 206)

> Liberation eventually requires a transformation of social consciousness beyond national consciousness. (McGee, 1993, p. 282, quoting E. Said)

The new millennium ushers in social, cultural, economic, and political transformations in the U.S. and indeed the global landscape. It is of no small consequence to note that while some transformations are new, others are not at all new. Year 2000 changes (with all their implications) are reflected simultaneously in our lives and in societal institutions that may or may not serve all. For example, since the latter part of the 1990s, the U.S. economy, as exemplified by economic institutions such as the stock market, has been for the most part strong and bullish, experiencing increased growth and earnings. On one hand, the downsizing of American multinational corporations during the mid-1990s displaced millions of workers and still filled the corporate coffers with ever increasing profits (Uchitelle & Kleinfield, 1996). Four years later, the year 2000 reveals a booming, growing economy in the longest, most successful U.S. expansion in

Note: The author would like to thank Mary Dilworth of AACTE and Mary O'Brien for editorial comments and support.

recent memory. White collar workers, especially those with high-tech training and skills, and blue collar workers are in great demand. Both workforces enjoy and profit from the fruits of their labors in a booming, growing economy. Yet it is because of the uninflated economic rate of growth that the Federal Reserve Bank raised interest rates six times in just 1 year to head off inflation by slowing economic growth in an effort to maintain the national expansion. In May 2000, despite increasing corporate profits and growth in the economy, the unemployment rate of 4.1% began to creep up—as a cost of doing increased business.

Another frightening change in the societal landscape is terrorism. Terrorism, extraordinary for whites (not at all extraordinary for African Americans and other people of color in the Americas),[1] has invaded all our shores. The idea of being attacked by terrorist militia factions in this country, as the Oklahoma City bombing demonstrated, is just as threatening as attacks from foreign soil. The pernicious impact of violence in American culture is ever looming. In the dawn of this new 21st century, we now realize that violence is not relegated to the urban landscape but, as symbolized by the Columbine High School shootings, now manifests itself in all communities—urban, suburban, and rural.

Within these changing landscapes, we are also witnessing major shifts in social programs that impact people of color, women, the elderly, and the poor. Welfare as "we" know it has been completely transformed from what it was intended to be—help for the wives and children of men who had died or become disabled—when established federally as Aid for Dependent Children by the Social Security Act of 1935. Welfare critics argue successfully that the current Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) had disintegrated into a producer of career welfare recipients who have given birth to generations of welfare recipients. Because AFDC was viewed as abusive and wasteful by the Republican controlled Congress, what resulted was the total reformation of the federal program.

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1. I say this because African Americans have been kidnapped, blown up, burned, hanged, enslaved, raped, and more in the name of white supremacy. Moreover, other people of color, such as Native Americans, were subjected to government policies of cultural and physical genocide, also in the name of white supremacy.

Introduced by Rep. John Kasich (R-OH), Public Law 104–193 came into being in August 1996. Titled "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996—Title I: Block Grants for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families," this federal legislation allows individual states to create and manage their own programs, design their own rules, and set their own eligibility criteria and payment rates. Recipients must begin working within 2 years of receiving assistance. As P.L. 104–193 reflects Congress's sense of preventing "out-of-wedlock pregnancy and reduction in out-of-wedlock births [as] important Government interests ... [the law] eliminates AFDC transitional and at-risk child care programs" (p. 8), slashes food stamp programs for dependent families, which affects primarily children the hardest, and has no provisions for food stamp assistance when a family exhausts benefits, even if the head of the household is unemployed. Contrary to this "tough love" approach to the poor, which is supposed ultimately to help them lift themselves out of poverty, the Children's Defense Fund and the National Coalition for the Homeless (1998), the Kellogg Foundation (1999), and the United Church of Christ's Welfare Working Group (1999a, 1999b) report problems and areas of concern that have emerged because of this legislation:

- *Below-poverty line earnings:* When parents on welfare get jobs, their earnings are typically far below the poverty line;
- *Fewer time limit exemptions:* Fewer families with multiple barriers to employment will be exempt from time limits than Congress originally envisioned; and
- *Deepening poverty:* When cash assistance is terminated for an entire family, children's poverty is deepened. Poor children (especially those whose poverty is deep and long lasting) are more likely to suffer health, developmental, and educational problems (United Church of Christ, 1999a).

To be sure, the "take back from the poor" attitudes and assumptions upon which some of this reform in the new millennium is based are not at all new.

Ironically, such reforms come at a time when, despite a booming economy, many in the general population are experiencing economic and/or other job related distress. From the perspective of this author,

the ugly side of American individualism seems to indulge an every-one-for-himself type of "meanness," which impacts the working poor, the elderly, and children particularly hard because they are the most vulnerable. In this national 4.1% unemployment economy, African Americans, who account for 13% of the population, experience an 8% unemployment rate, compared with 3.5% for white workers. Put another way, the Rawlsian notion of giving the most to those who have the least (Rawls, 1971) seems not to factor into an amoral equation in which those who are in positions of leadership believe their vested interests have very little in common with the interests of those at the bottom of the socioeconomic food chain.

These social revisionist changes pose a fundamental racist threat to the African American community. This racist threat manifests itself in the resurgence of the "eugenics" movement through works such as *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), the essence of which once again challenges the humanity of people of the African diaspora. As Ron Walters points out, incidents of lynching; violence when people of color move into a formerly white neighborhood; discrimination in employment, housing, mortgage lending, health services, criminal justice, and news coverage; and more are "but a hint of the daily incidents of racism faced by blacks of all classes" (Walters, 1996, p. 4). In American educational institutions, the defining factor for African Americans is race and "racism." Exploring how race and racism in education are impacted by some current societal transformations helps delineate the changes and their implications for African Americans.

One educational iteration of this postmodern racism, with the attack on affirmative action and race-based admissions policies in higher education and proficiency testing becoming more frequent in grades K-12, is the resurgence of the reliance on standardized testing as the primary measure of educational competence (Diaz, 1997; Greve, 1999; Pell, 1998; Segal, 1998; Walsh-Sarnecki, 1998). Opponents argue for the use of standardized test scores as a key criterion for college and university admission as opposed to other indicators such as high school grades and recommendations along with test scores. Affirmative action, once seen as a means to correct racial inequities in the workplace and higher education, is now characterized as reverse discrimination against whites (Greve, 1999). The rationale for such

change in higher education admissions policies and procedures is simple: Standardized tests such as the SAT and IQ tests are scientifically deemed to be accurate predictors of success (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). Invoking the history of the NAACP or Martin Luther King, anti–affirmative action forces argue that any kind of discrimination is wrong, including discrimination against white students (Greve, 1999; Diaz, 1997). Therefore, they conclude, test scores must be used as primary admission criteria, even though black students score 200 to 300 points lower than their white counterparts. According to the affirmative action opponents, the problem of lower test scores for students of color are not in the tests. We are told we need to look at the students themselves and the environments in which they were raised for culprits such as lack of prenatal care, teen pregnancy, crime, drug abuse, gangs, and violence.

Affirmative action opponents contend that affirmative action policies have hurt rather than helped minorities because students with lower (weaker) credentials/test scores than their counterparts gain access into institutions that they otherwise would not have been able to attend. As a result, they have a very difficult time succeeding in these more rigorous institutions. Moreover, those opposed to affirmative action advocate race-neutral policies for admittance into higher education. The belief is that such policies would result in having students attend schools with others who had comparable SAT scores, making it more likely that the students would be successful in their higher educational experience (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; D'Souza, 1991; O'Sullivan, 1998).

As an African American faculty member and a mother, I am very concerned about the education given to urban, suburban, and rural African American students from elementary school to graduate school, particularly in light of this renewed emphasis on educational testing, which inevitability produces and reproduces with precision and regularity a tracked educational hierarchy and hence a hierarchically structured society. In undergraduate and especially graduate studies, a philosophical disposition and theoretical and analytical intellectual understandings are not acquired solely by taking the prescribed courses. Such understanding comes as a process of a dawning awareness of one's self in the world (the lived experience) coupled with the intellectual development that occurs throughout the educational ex-

perience, culminating (supposedly) at the doctoral level. As someone has pointed out, "The differences in the political and the cultural behavior of minority women and men are determined by social and historical contingencies and not some essential checklist of innate, biological or cultural characteristics" (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993, p. xvii). Our African American graduate students, particularly the doctoral students, bring a wealth of intellectual and cultural knowledge from the lived experience, as well as the analytical tools that help them view these experiences in context. In the real work and study of graduate school, African American students consistently perform well, participate at national conferences, and are competitive for professorial jobs, regardless of their scores on the GREs and Millers Analogies. Clearly, this observation is not an apology for those who need to sharpen their technical academic writing skills, a prerequisite for advanced graduate level doctoral courses. This sharpening of skills is part of my role as a faculty member. Nevertheless, if tests in the main are supposed to predict future success, they cannot explain the success of black graduate students. Beyond higher education, however, there is a more insidious threat, beginning at the earliest years in the educational careers of African American students.

But first the historical perspective. In 1893, the National Association of Manufacturers was formed as American business became more interested in entering overseas markets, particularly Latin America and Asia. German businesses were very much in the forefront in these markets, however, largely because of the efforts of the German educational system of industrial/trade schools. The German Ministry of Commerce, not educators, was the driving force behind these schools in Germany, resulting in a workforce prepared to operate German factories and giving Germany the advantage in international markets. Suffice it to say that with the encouragement of the business community and the engineering principles of social efficiency, American education rose to the challenge of helping corporate America compete in international markets (Kliebard, 1992; Wirth, 1974).

This admittedly truncated description of the relationship between the corporate agenda and American education in the early 20th century points out at least one interesting fact. In part, the historical antecedents of contemporary American education demon-

strate its predisposition toward being a fundamental cornerstone of corporate competition in global markets. The fact that corporations need an educated workforce to compete in a global economy is, in and of itself, not necessarily bad, because a society depends on the innovations of its citizenry to advance.

At the beginning of the 21st century, however, we are witnessing an unbridled, vulgar, corporate influence on American education, particularly through the mechanism of proficiency testing (on our way toward a national curriculum and testing), to the extent now that American education is in danger of devolving into a punitive, hierarchical, unforgiving tournament that winnows and shifts students as though they were wheat and chaff—the end prize of which is for corporate business, science, and industry to absorb the best and the brightest and to discard those children of a lesser god (or a lesser score). Within this context, a personal perspective and experience within a proficiency driven state will serve as an example of the K-12 testing mania now facing states across the country.

The legislature in my state, and increasingly in more states across the country, established a statewide mandatory proficiency test for high school students in an effort to be accountable to the public and, I suspect, to ensure that students leaving high school with a diploma could enter the business world without multinational corporations' having to teach them what they should have learned in high school to ensure a well-educated workforce. The test is given to "verify student achievement" at the 9th- and 12th-grade levels. The 9th-grade test began in autumn 1990, the 12th-grade test in winter 1994. Students are required to demonstrate 9th- and 12th-grade proficiency in math, reading, writing, citizenship, and science to graduate with a diploma from high school, regardless of school grades, credits earned, college entrance exam scores, or current requirements for admission to higher education. If they do not pass any section of the test, students receive only a certificate of attendance instead of a high school diploma. Additional legislation required that, beginning in academic year 1994-1995, 4th- and 6th-grade students pass proficiency tests. Further, beginning in academic year 1999-2000, children who did not pass a minimum of the sections in the 4th- and 6th-grade proficiency tests would not be allowed to move to the next grade. As a

teacher in my class remarked, "We may end up with 4th-grade schools."

Interestingly enough, there was such an outcry from the state teacher education association (the teacher's union) that the union leadership was forced to hold a vote among its members across the state, which resulted in a call for a moratorium on proficiency testing. Indeed, one state legislator, whose sister has been a teacher for 30 years, offered to author the moratorium legislation, which is currently stalled in the education committee. Nevertheless, state legislators heard the outcry, resulting in a moratorium on implementing any additional proficiency testing required by legislation until the issues can be "studied." The governor appointed a blue ribbon panel consisting of 33 members, only three of whom are teachers, with the rest representing business interests, to study these matters. The state is very cognizant of the discontent caused by the institution of proficiency testing as a means of measuring academic competence. Schools and the state profess that the goal is high educational attainment for all students. Curiously, however, this configuration for evaluating competency employs a kind of round robin sports elimination method, where some win at the expense of others' losing.

In trying to understand why students, particularly black students,[2] were having difficulty with these proficiency tests, I looked through a practice test booklet published by the state's Department of Education and asked the graduate students in my classes, most of whom are teachers and administrators in the public schools, about their observations and experiences with the proficiency test. The students' comments and my own observations were both interesting and disturbing. What I noticed in the math section, for example, was that the questions or tasks were embedded in a discipline-specific language. Much of the pedagogy that teachers engage in on a daily basis, however, is not communicated to students in these ways. Some of the doctoral level science teachers in my certification course took the science component of the proficiency exam and reported that they could not figure out how the test makers arrived at some of the "correct" responses. Still other teachers, especially the English

2. I take as problematic the reasoning that black students fail at higher rates than their white counterparts because they do not have the intellectual ability and/or a sufficient knowledge base to pass the test.

teachers, bitterly complained about the writing test and how it demands a certain pedagogical style that teachers, at least in my classes, seem to feel flies in the face of what they see and what the research considers good pedagogical practice. Yes, these examples are anecdotal, but they nevertheless call for an investigation of pedagogical styles, perceptions, subject matter availability, and the overall concerns of educators fearful that the test will begin to drive the curriculum, which indeed is what is happening.

Proficiency and other sorting or measuring tools are part of what I euphemistically refer to as "AcaSpeak" (Academic Speak). AcaSpeak represents a sociocultural academic power struggle that plays itself out across racial, class, and gender lines. AcaSpeak is a crucial prerequisite for success in this new millennium: By itself, it does not guarantee success, but it provides access to higher level heuristic tools, knowledge, and information, and without it, one's prospects for success are greatly diminished. AcaSpeak is, in part, the formal structural language that one would see in various academic disciplines such as math, science, and to a lesser degree social studies, language arts, and literature. There is a differentiation of its use in various classrooms based on race and class, yet competence in AcaSpeak is a critical factor on proficiency tests as well as undergraduate admissions exams and graduate merit examinations. AcaSpeak is a measurement not only of what you know but also of whether you can articulate what you know within the structure of the discipline. More important, AcaSpeak relies on the preeminence of its cultural codes to remain intact, unquestioned—to become the "sacred" (Taylor, 1989) standard to which all students (who are worthy or at least familiar enough with the codes to even compete) will aspire. Corporate political pressure coupled with right-wing conservative revisionism, all in the name of accountability, has resulted in this punitive state-sanctioned creation and perpetuation of an underclass—a laboring working class in an information and technologically oriented workforce with a reduced or eliminated social welfare infrastructure. My fear is that this minimally educated underclass will be disproportionately African Americans and other people of color. For such a laboring class, Mickey Dee's becomes the cotton fields of the new millennium. And within these debates about proficiency testing, will we ever hear any corporate or political voice advocating for a better

and more successful educational system that enhances our children's joy in lifelong learning so they too can have wonderful, positive memories of being in elementary school classrooms, as many of us have (even those proposing proficiency tests), sitting on rugs listening to the teacher read *The Velveteen Rabbit* or *Winnie the Pooh* or *Where the Wild Things Are* or stories from Beatrix Potter or Julius Lester's *Black Folktales* or Virginia Hamilton's *The People Could Fly*?

Almost 30 years ago, we in education were having many of these current conversations. Then as now, social and educational theorists acknowledged the existence of certain knowledge and information (the social, cultural capital) not necessarily taught by the schools but expected as an essential feature of the standard of proficiency. What we see is information that is differentially distributed, and we must remind ourselves that these conversations are old (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Hoare & Smith, 1971). I remember discussing these topics in my own graduate days in the 1970s, naively believing that they had been resolved. What I realize now is that each generation must rise to the occasion and answer them anew. More often than not we are continually reminded that these are not simply old arguments and conversations; they are permanent conditions that require eternal vigilance, what Derrick Bell (1992) means when he speaks of the permanence of racism.

One real consequence of this quest for "proficiency" is that tests will become more commonplace even in the face of being completely unreasonable and counterproductive. A salient example of such madness occurred during our class discussion on proficiency testing. Some of the teachers had had a state official as a guest speaker in another graduate class. The official allegedly reported that the state had data suggesting that retaining children for one or more years dramatically increases the likelihood that they will drop out. The question teachers then posed was if the state has such data and knows the impact of retaining children, then why would the state put into legislation a consequence such as retaining students if they fail the 4th- or 6th-grade proficiency exam? Great question! It was reported that the official's answer was not at all clear. He indicated things still needed to be sorted out; in essence, he shrugged his shoulders.

The challenge to the criticality of educational racism begins with the critique of such forms of madness—specifically analyzing the

political, theoretical, and pedagogical underpinnings of hierarchically constructed formulations that are part of the commonsense assumptions upon which the academic decision-making apparatus and the educational career patterns of students are being decided. As an African American educator, part of my mission is to continually raise questions that challenge loudly those sacred normative constructions of the social consciousness. As educators we must ask, among other things, At the local, state, or national level, do we want the education of our children to focus primarily on preparing for a test? Do we want our teachers teaching to a test, and what implications would such a pedagogy have on the fullness of the K-12 academic experience? What is meant by competence? Who decided on this means of testing, and how and why was this means of assessing the academic development of the child selected over other means? How are the tests constructed? Who has input into this process of evaluation? What constituencies tend to do better or worse on such assessment tools? Why buy into so punitive a system, which employs an elimination method as the normative way of determining competence?

If the goal is to raise the academic and intellectual bar in schools through proficiency testing (although this author has grave reservations about the nature of such "proof"), then it is incumbent upon teachers and their associations, parent and community groups, state legislators, and the state's department of public instruction to ensure, at the local level, a sufficient teacher workforce, intellectual/scholarly (not merely bureaucratic) leadership in the schools, comparable physical facilities and fiscal resource parity in urban and rural and suburban schools, a comprehensive curriculum with all the requisite tools, including up-to-date books, materials, libraries, and technology, and equitable access to the pedagogical style upon which the test is based. On the other hand, in the academy, teacher educators must critique the use of scientific measurement to expose the "narrative side" of science for what it is (Wynter, 1992). Critique alone, however, will not change these testing and scientific measurement systems by arguing they work in the interest of some particular groups as opposed to other groups. For teacher education as well as curriculum theory and development, this means learning from and applying the numerous exemplars of African American scholarship on formal and informal learning (Boykin, 1979; Crichlow, Goodwin,

Shakes, & Swartz, 1990; Delpit, 1995; Gordon, 1982, 1985, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995; Henry, 1992; Hilliard, 1992; Hollins & Spencer, 1990; Jansen, 1990; Jones, 1981; King, 1992a, 1992b; Ladson-Billings, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Henry, 1990; Lee, Lomotey, & Shujaa, 1990; Siddle-Walker, 1993).

These citations represent a huge body of knowledge generated by African American and African Caribbean scholars and practitioners that give the black experience meaning and context in societies structured in dominance by race, class, and gender. Such work must be considered when creating methods of discerning proficiency. Given that many of those reading this monograph may not be familiar with some of the aforementioned authors or use their work, this author offers for your consideration a few points that either come directly from or are implied by these works for both teachers and teacher educators trying to transform their classroom pedagogy or education program. Among other points, these authors have argued that:

- Children of color can learn high-status, abstract, conceptual knowledge.
- Instead of viewing African American children as bored and inattentive because school work is too complex, it could be that they are bored and inattentive because school is a relatively unstimulating, constraining, and monotonous place that is more compatible with the more placid existence of suburbia.
- Homes of urban African American children that are seen as chaotic and disorganized may well be a commentary on the psychological verve levels of observers, who are used to a less exciting existence. It has been the practice for social scientists to view divergent customs and environments in a culturally egocentric way.
- The "verve" or vibrancy (high energy levels) seen in African American children that Boykin talks about is a real strength and asset, not a defect that needs to be fixed. Ritalin is not the answer.
- Many children who fail do so because the educational system is predisposed to their failing, in part because of its nature to reproduce the hierarchical structure of society and the latent ideological content of the curriculum and

the way that knowledge is and is not made available to children.

- Delpit (1995) is correct when she contends that academic gatekeeping does exist and that to pretend it does not only ensures that many students, particularly students of color and the poor, will be excluded.
- Just because someone is economically broke does not mean that s/he is poor in spirit, will, or ability.
- If proficiency tests are going to be used, then let us use them as a measure of local, state, and national funding priorities and as a measure of how much we as a society value all of our children and respond to their needs, but never as a punitive stick for promotion or graduation.

I am worried that we can predict with regularity what the outcome will be as we watch African American and other students of color (as well as segments of the middle class white student population) suffer academic indignities and real-life consequences. While these indignities and life consequences are real, they do not have to be permanent and inevitable. As the millennium unfolds with all of its promise and possibilities, we in the society at large must work toward justice and equity for all the citizenry. One meaningful way to begin this forward movement toward a just and equitable society in which all citizens are given the opportunity to enhance their lives is to provide the best possible education for all, not simply to prepare them for the world of work, but an education that will enrich their emotional, spiritual, personal, and communal well-being. In the previous century, we had too many examples of what happens when a population was deemed expendable. In this new millennium, let us work toward social, cultural, economic, and political transformations within the global landscape that enhance life for all people and all living things.

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CHAPTER 2

UNTOLD STORIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING MINORITY PRESERVICE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES

Rosebud Elijah

As we enter the 21st century, we in teacher education as well as those university wide are still struggling with the problem of recruiting, supporting, and sustaining minority[1] students and faculty. Tierney (1997, p. 177) states the "inextricable link" between minority students and minority faculty:

> If we do not increase the number of students of color, then the pool of available faculty remains small; if we do not have a viable number of minority faculty on campus, then one of the most important factors in minority student retention will be unavailable. As more students of color graduate, the pool of available talent grows, which in turn leads to greater numbers of faculty of color, who are able to mentor more students of color.

Note: This chapter is based on a presentation for "Contextual Constraints and Possibilities for Teacher Educators: Consequences for Teacher Preparation?" a symposium sponsored by the American Educational Research Association, March 1997, Chicago, IL.

1. I use the word *minority* hesitantly, well aware of all the caveats accorded to it. I use it because it provides me an immediate context for the larger point I want to make here.

Understanding the Development of Personal, Professional Identities as a Key to Recruitment and Support

Recognizing the many dimensions of this link between minority faculty and minority students is crucial to understanding and defining the problem of recruitment and support of minority students and faculty. I believe that one dimension of this problem is the development of personal, professional identities of students and faculty of color. While recruitment of minority faculty and students is often talked about in terms of strategies and policies, we rarely discuss recruitment in terms of ongoing support of faculty and students. Supporting the development of personal, professional identities of students and faculty of color in ways that may be different from those that we consider the norm may be crucial in solving the recruitment problem.

I believe we can learn about the problem of recruitment and support of minority students of education by understanding the socialization of minority faculty in schools of education. In other words, understanding minority faculty experiences within the university context and the ways in which their personal, professional identities develop could provide insights into the experiences of our minority preservice teachers. I am inclined to believe that our understandings about these faculty experiences within university contexts have implications for all minority students on campus, not only those in schools of education. But because of the urgency and intensity of the problem of recruiting and supporting students of teaching, I am talking explicitly about our students of education. These insights, in turn, could provide suggestions for their recruitment and support.

To elucidate this point, I share with you some experiences of an assistant professor associated with the university context. I emphasize daily kinds of experiences because they illustrate the possible everyday nature of the university as an institution and their possible effects on his identity as scholar, teacher, and researcher as a faculty member of color.

THE CASE OF SCOTT

Scott is an African American male assistant professor at a large research university in the Midwest.[2] Participating in this life history study in his third tenure-track year, Scott raised many of the issues that are themes in the findings on the early years of becoming a professor (e.g., Mager & Myers, 1982; Sorcinelli, 1988; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993; Whitt, 1991). He experienced isolation and the publish or perish syndrome, felt the need to find ways to incorporate and/or refuse institutional service, and searched for ways to integrate teaching, research, and service, among other issues. In addition to these themes, Scott has concluded that, when elaborating on issues of carving out and sustaining an identity within the institution and a niche for himself as a "teacher educator researcher," "the bottom line is ... that race is a factor" within the institution.

Specifically:

- When he has been in the school of education on a Saturday, wearing a cap, T-shirt, and jeans, people have asked him questions as though he were the custodian for the building.
- Professors in the building have asked him how much longer he has before finishing the program and then tried to excuse themselves on the basis of how young he looks.
- Teachers at the elementary school where he works mistakenly thought he was a graduate student, even though he had indicated on the phone and in memos that he was an assistant professor.

In addition, certain fuzzy, implicit scenarios suggested to him that race may be a factor, as for example, his experiences with students in his first year—their inattentiveness, absences, and confrontations and challenges in class. There also had been particularly hurt-

2. This information draws on data from a larger collaborative life history study on faculty socialization. See:
Elijah, R. (1996). Professional lives in context: Teacher educators' pedagogies. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Finley, S. (1998). Teacher education faculty as researchers: Composing lives in context, a blend of form and content. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

ful, confusing experiences in his work with a predominantly African American, low socioeconomic elementary school. In one instance, the students had cast Scott as a "wanna-be," a "nerd," and a "brainiack." Scott also grappled with feeling the need to incorporate his African American identity into his research and writing and the pressure to publish in journals where an African American identity is not the norm.

These daily experiences came together with his past experiences about race to create, for Scott, a feeling of "paranoia," the constant need to prove his capabilities because of his color. This feeling of paranoia coexisted with a determination to succeed, to prove himself more than competent as a scholar. In his third year as a faculty member, Scott already had a good sense of his personal professional identity, was well on his way to establishing his identity as a scholar, and could see clearly the path he needed to take to establish a successful professional identity.

Yet the paranoia kept recurring with these types of incidents. Scott explained how he learned to deal with it for the most part: "I just sort of go in and out of it and try to keep a focus and not let it start messing with my mind. To a great extent, I just go on." Interestingly enough, Scott was sure that he wanted tenure, but he wanted it mostly for the "credibility for whatever [he] wanted to do after that." Even though he was told he was a shoo-in for tenure at this institution, Scott has since moved to another institution, where he feels the culture and the surroundings are more compatible for him and his family.

Lessons Learned From the Case of Scott

From Scott's case we learn that (a) he often feels demeaned and undervalued in interactions with colleagues and students in the university context; (b) whatever reasons we may attribute for his experiences and feelings, Scott has concluded after numerous day-to-day experiences in the university context that his race contributes in fundamental ways to the way he is treated; and (c) just as Scott tries to keep issues of race and color at a distance in his interactions with his colleagues and students, he also feels the need to do so in his scholarship to get published in the fields of special education and teacher education. Therefore, his research and writing are often shaped by

eliminating his experiences as an African American male—the very experiences that have shaped his life and life's work in crucial ways.

From these lessons, we begin to understand Scott's dilemma. To continue to be successful in the university context, Scott needs to consciously erase an essential part of who he is and of his professional life. Only if he continues to separate his personal and professional lives, even when several instances indicate they cannot be separated, can he continue to be successful in the university context.

One might argue that everyone separates the personal and professional and that, in fact, it is healthy to do so. Given Scott's experiences, we are forced to ask whether experiences related to race and color are only a part of his personal life or whether they are in fact a significant part of his professional life as well. In schools of education in particular, where teaching and preparing teachers in a diverse society is a major goal, understanding historical and current constructions of race and color is a critical component for socially just education. Yet it seems that in these very places, personal and professional identities that embrace race need to be dichotomized.

IMPLICATIONS

I tell Scott's story because, so far, scenarios and stories like them remain untold or, if told, largely dismissed. But even in this retelling, I know that for those of us who have never experienced such scenarios, there may be disbelief that they could have occurred. Or, for some of us who can imagine these scenarios, there may be some skepticism that Scott needs to perceive them as race related; it becomes apparent in our minds that maybe he *is* paranoid. Of course, some of us have experienced similar scenarios and know that they may be attributed to other factors but still understand this paranoia well.

Whatever *our* perceptions of Scott and his story, if we are to begin to understand the development of personal, professional identities of faculty members like Scott and their daily experiences in university contexts, we must understand and acknowledge that these experiences and perceptions are real for them. This understanding can begin to happen only through conversations and hearing each other. It seems to me that to deny the reality of Scott's experiences as he perceives and remembers them is to deny the social, political his-

tory of our society and current university contexts. It is the reason why life history research is so powerful: It interweaves the personal and the contextual.

Learning to deal with such experiences is not easy for Scott, despite being well engaged in the process of establishing a professional identity and career, and possessing a rich context for, and understanding of, race relations by attending, for example, segregated schools and integrated schools. If these types of scenarios possibly form the daily fabric of university contexts, what kinds of support might we need to provide minority preservice teachers who may not have a sense of their personal, professional identities? What kind of structures might we provide for these students of education, who may not have the determination Scott has, if only because they do not and cannot have a clear sense of the path they need to take to establish successful professional identities? It seems to me that this development is, at least in part, the work of being in school and becoming a teacher, yet it may be that very context that keeps them away.

The Inextricable Link: The Need to Begin with Faculty to Recruit and Support Students

One implication of Scott's story and one dimension of the problem of recruitment and support of minority students and faculty may be related directly to the kind of environment and atmosphere that currently exists in universities. This environment is somewhat even more ambiguous as affirmative action and other diversification policies are implemented and are now increasingly coming under attack. Even those of us who generally agree with the philosophy of affirmative action know that the various implementations of this policy and its outcomes need scrutiny, if only to reaffirm our understandings of some of the purposes of higher education in a democratic society where groups of people may be systematically disadvantaged based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, physical disability, or religion (see Tierney, 1997). As long as a majority of administrators, faculty, staff, and students believe that recruiting and supporting minority faculty and students leads to reverse discrimination, lower standards, and filling quotas, the environment will continue to be ambiguous, if not hostile, for minority students and faculty.

One way to examine our policies and implementation practices regarding diversity requires an honest conversation among faculty and administrators about the different meanings of diversity and social justice and the different ways to achieve those ideals. Understanding multiple meanings of diversity as it relates to social justice will enable us to assess our current implementations. It seems reasonable to discuss, for example, the kinds of organized and unorganized systems of recruitment and support we currently have for all students and faculty. Yet these conversations are difficult, if not close to impossible. At my institution, for example, our school of education faculty voted to spend an hour at each faculty meeting discussing aspects, issues, and meanings related to diversity. Despite an overwhelmingly positive vote, resistance is palpable, even from some of us who are eager to begin the conversation. This mostly nonverbal resistance seems to me to be largely emotional. It seems to involve fears of needing to speak and engage, of being incorrect, of needing to hear, of needing to unlearn our current ways of being to accommodate divergent viewpoints, and of being vulnerable. Ironically, it seems to require of us what education is about. Until we as faculty and administrators can take on the difficult task of educating ourselves about race relations in society and the university, it seems unlikely that we will be able to recruit and support minority students in honest and careful ways.

The Need to Recognize Differences Among Students

University contexts tend to reflect the larger societal myths of equality rather than equity, meritocracy rather than opportunity. As faculty and administrators begin to explore the different notions of diversity and the diversity among us, it may be useful for us to begin thinking about and recognizing the differences among students. Keeping in mind that top-down bureaucratic initiatives rarely work in the manner they are supposed to in these matters, we need to encourage and support grassroot organizations initiated by students in matters relating to diversity. Doing so requires patience, time, and effort on our part, as these organizations evolve and change to be responsive to current situations.

The Need to Educate Our Teachers in Order to Prepare Them

Given the current problem of recruiting and supporting minority students in schools of education, it seems important to spend substantial amounts of time in teacher education programs exploring and recognizing differences, examining the historical and current contexts of race relations in this country, and connecting them to an understanding of education for social justice. And it seems more urgent as younger generations of future teachers become more removed from the race related struggles of this society. They tend to view current society through the lenses of equality and meritocracy without a historical context, thereby legitimizing the status quo. If we do not begin this process while they are students of education, we will have teachers and faculty members who replicate our own recognition of the need for a more equitable society but who lack the skills and ability to generate one.

Looking Forward

As we enter this new century still dealing with the problem of insufficient representation of minority teachers in schools and universities, it may be important to consider the multidimensionality and depth of the problem. It may no longer be sufficient to talk about recruitment without support, teachers' work without teachers' identities, or diversity without social justice. Understanding the development of personal, professional identities of students and faculty in university contexts contributes through a different lens to our existing understandings of the problem of recruiting and sustaining minority students and faculty.

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CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL WHITE RESISTANCE TO EQUITY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION: A CHALLENGE TO WHITE TEACHER EDUCATORS

Beatrice S. Fennimore

It would probably be quite difficult these days to find white teacher educators who do not believe that they have in at least some ways incorporated multicultural approaches to human diversity in their courses or field supervision. Many of these educators, however, may be uncomfortable with direct dialogue with their students about the ways in which white people have continued to benefit from inequality through overt or subvert resistance to reconstruction of a more just society. As a white teacher educator, I am committed to acknowledging the social advantages I have received, and the white resistance to equity of which I am aware, to reinforce dialogue about social injustice and the moral imperative of educators. Every white teacher educator needs to search her or his past for the experiential foundation of a dialogue about advantage and resistance. My own dialogue with my students is best informed by my 18 years of experience as an urban public school parent who was very involved in advocacy for public school equity. Those years have given me enormous insight into the ways in which white citizens in this nation have fought in overt and subtle ways to retain an unfair and unbalanced society.

I suspect that very few university-based professionals have experienced the challenges of engaging as relatively powerless parents in the complex political arena of urban public education. This may be because their own children are in advantaged school situations, be-

cause they have established favorable relationships with their children's educators, or because they accept and enjoy the advantages of tracking, special programming, or extra resources provided to children who are valued within the school. It can be very easy for academics not to know how the tide would turn, in terms of their reception by administrators and district leaders, if they joined with parents of children who were not receiving their fair share of resources to advocate for greater school equity. I am quite accustomed to my mainly white and female students staring at me in a quizzical state of suspended disbelief as I tell them what I have seen as a parent advocate for public school equity. "When you are a relatively anonymous Ms. Nobody (as opposed to visiting Dr. Somebody) whose child is in a regular urban public school classroom," I tell them, "and you announce to a district official that you object to preferential treatment of some children over others, and the children getting preferential treatment are the white advantaged children of the most powerful citizens in the district, you had better be ready for a gloves-off kind of day." My students laugh, sometimes nervously, and I know they often think I am exaggerating. Could it be true that, when I approached a superintendent with a group of parents to ask pointed questions about the source of funding for a special program in the district, he said, "You could get in a lot of trouble for asking about that program?" Was it really necessary for the district to add police protection to the eventual public hearings about the fairness of that special program? It is often not until my students get out into their field experiences that they start to reflect back on the discussions we have had in class about matters of equity and social justice.

I still remember, for example, the warm spring morning when I sat with my three junior-level field experience students in the small private office of the rural elementary school where they had been placed (my university places students in rural, suburban, and urban schools). Their school served the poorest children of the district, many of whom came from racially mixed family backgrounds. I was struck by the quiet and troubled sincerity of my students as they talked in low voices about the inequities they were observing. They had noticed many things about the school: It was the only one without playground equipment, the young children were often suspended for getting into fights on the empty concrete play area, the school

was not clean, negative comments about the children's racial backgrounds and intelligence were commonplace. One of my students admitted that she had not really believed all the things I had said in class. Now, she said, she would feel very betrayed by her preparation to be a teacher if her professor had not previously acknowledged that she would encounter discrimination in the schools. I was profoundly affected by this conversation, as I have been over the years by many others similar to it. My hope is that dialogue in the field, supported by honest discussion of white resistance to equity in the classroom, can sustain a sense of moral imperative to continue to seek justice for school children.

My own insight into white resistance to school equity is deeply rooted in civil-rights-related school desegregation issues of the 1970s and the 1980s. These were the issues through which I became fully engaged as a parent in public school politics. After years of observing the intricacies of public school responses to civil rights initiatives, I am always deeply angered by statements like "*Brown* did not work" or "integration failed." Missing from such conversations is recognition of the powerful white resistance to school integration and school equity. If a society is to be considered democratic and moral, the present and historical acts of any citizens to undermine liberty and equality, and to intimidate those who would liberate social institutions, must be honestly addressed. Students in teacher education need to know much more than the fact that desegregation efforts are currently being dismantled around the United States. They need to know that white parents have used their considerable power to fight redistribution of resources and opportunities. Likewise, they need to know that many so-called failed desegregation programs had become little more than attempts to appease white parents with preferential treatment and extra resources. Education students and their professors should acknowledge specific manifestations of white resistance to equal educational opportunity, including movement to suburbs to avoid urban integrated schools, avoidance of suburban schools with increasingly diverse populations, opposition of efforts to address segregation in real estate and housing, use of political power to protect existing access to the best resources in school districts, and demands for continuation of tracking practices that in fact stratified and resegregated their schools. It is quite difficult to prove that these behaviors

were fueled in all cases by racism. It must be recognized, however, that clearly documented inequities in public schools continue to benefit white advantaged students.

I am grateful for the insights I can share with my students—insights gleaned from a front-row-center seat as a parent engaged in urban public school politics. I was thus positioned to observe the often subtle, confounding, sometimes intimidating and unquestionably damaging ways in which white racism undermined integration and access for many children marginalized by discrimination. I regularly invite my students to confront issues of racism through the stories I have to tell. They seem surprised at my recounting of the evening when 70 white parents testified at a school board meeting to oppose the elimination of a middle school tracking system that was, in effect, resegregating children within the schools. I describe the subtle threats made again and again about "moving out of the city," thus "eliminating white children from the school population" and "removing their high-scoring children from the district testing statistics." I tell them how the superintendent rose to the microphone, after hours of such testimony, to withdraw the proposal to end the tracking in schools. Some of my stories describe parents who were less subtle. I describe the father who, angrily opposed to proposed integration of children in "gifted" and regular programs within his school, said such a policy change would be like "mixing fine steak with garbage." Not only were parents who made such comments not openly rebuffed by district officials, I tell my students, but they often continued to be openly courted because of concerns about "white flight." It was the parents who raised difficult questions about equity and who resisted discriminatory policies who were most often viewed as less desirable troublemakers.

I focus strongly in my teaching on the ways in which the initial highly volatile white opposition to civil rights initiatives generated by the *Brown* decision, including angry resistance to "forced busing," intimidated policy makers. Secondary approaches to "voluntary desegregation" fostered ideas such as the creation of magnet programs designed more to make integrated schools attractive to white people than to address unconstitutional systemic injustices. Federal support of magnet programs at a time when other desegregation supports were being removed, motivation for which has been attributed

to President Reagan's desire to place the topic of school choice squarely on the national agenda (Orfield & Eaton, 1996), created a powerful marriage of more advantaged white parents and urban school districts eager to retain the tax base of the residential white middle class. These programs often adopted policies such as admission criteria based on IQ or standardized test scores, or the requirement of highly complex (not always well publicized) registration procedures that secured an intended aura of selectivity. It must be recognized that desegregation programs did in many cases enhance integration experiences of enrolled children and that many nonwhite parents enrolled in and supported these programs. The fundamental fear being addressed in program design, however, was that advantaged white citizens, who were angry over and threatened by ways in which civil rights were supporting the advancement of the diverse groups they had historically dominated, would abandon the schools. Students in education should have the opportunity to reflect on such examples of inherent and inappropriate supremacy of white concerns.

Students in education today will be significantly affected by the issue of choice in public education. They should be encouraged to process their beliefs on school choice with the lens of civil rights. The vast majority of voluntary desegregation programs created a new language from which idealistic principles of democratic commitment to equity and excellence for all children were in the past and remain today remarkably absent. Administrators tended to describe desegregation programs such as magnets as "retaining the white middle class and attracting students from private schools" rather than as "protecting disenfranchised children from continuing prejudice and injustice." It was often assumed that parents who "cared enough" to navigate complex magnet registration procedures "deserved" better resources for their children. Never mind that these new and elitist programs were alien to many parents who naively assumed that the schools were equal or who had been fooled by the transference of their children into formerly white schools now characterized by new and insidious forms of stratification. The concept of choice was now seen as legitimizing unequal schooling for some children; the language of accountability and equity had been conveniently blurred by a new language of parental choice. This language was and is unforgivably specious when special public school programs are actu-

ally constructed to exclude certain children; desegregation mandates have somehow opened new doors to public schools' mimicking of private schools' selectivity.

How can students of education be helped to sift through the complex history of white resistance to public school equity and develop a positive approach to their future attitudes and behaviors? They can develop skills in policy analysis that recognize "the devil lies in the details" (Crain, 1993, p. 268) of seemingly benign development of educational programs. If a commitment to democracy and equity forms the basis of a lifetime approach to education, students today can be better prepared to deal with social and parental pressures to favor some children over others in schools. Dialogue about white advantage during teacher preparation can certainly make students in education more aware of the fact that the favored children in public schools continue to be mainly white and advantaged. Led by university role models, students in education can better believe that their own voices can rise, with the voices of committed educators, parents, and citizens, over those who would bully or silence advocates for the continuation of civil rights, particularly the rights of children to equal educational opportunities.

When white teacher educators take responsibility for the clarification of advantages they have received and the revelation of white resistance to equity, they help their colleagues and students to understand that there is neither innocence nor justice in passive acceptance of unfair opportunity. Jonathan Kozol describes this situation particularly well in *Amazing Grace* (1995), when he remarks that a lack of white resistance to racial and educational inequity can appear quite benign and unintentional because the traditions of inequality are already well established. Whites need only to quietly move into comfortable structures of discriminatory advantage. Those white educators who refuse to move into those structures and who resist the ease with which they might take advantage of discrimination that works in their favor can take their proud position beside all who seek to help all our children rise in a true land of opportunity.

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CHAPTER 4

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN IMPORTANT PARTNER IN ANTIRACIST TEACHER EDUCATION

Beverly Daniel Tatum

Many contemporary teacher education programs are beginning to recognize the challenge posed by the task of preparing white English-speaking students, many of whom have grown up in very homogeneous communities, to respond to the educational needs of a multiracial, multiethnic, multilingual student population. Courses like "Foundations of Multicultural Education," "Race, Class, Culture, and Gender in the Classroom," and my own course, "Psychology of Racism," are increasingly found in the teacher education curriculum as one way of sensitizing teacher education students to the impact of racial and cultural variables on their and their future students' education process. Those of us who teach such courses want our students to understand the impact of racism, sexism, classism, and other "isms" on educational institutions in general and in their classrooms in particular. Not only do we want these future teachers to understand the dynamics of inequity, but we also want them to see themselves as agents for change, empowered to engage in liberatory educational practices that will empower their students.

This trend toward a more inclusive, antibiased approach to teacher education is a fairly recent development, however. Many experienced educators presently serving in classrooms did not have the opportunity to take such courses as part of their own preservice training. They may not have had the opportunity to learn about racial identity development or how to evaluate classroom materials for racial and gender stereotyping. The veteran teachers who mentor preservice practicum students may not have been exposed to the writings of

such multicultural education leaders as James Banks, Sonia Nieto, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Christine Sleeter. Concepts such as culturally relevant teaching or critical pedagogy may be unfamiliar. Consequently, when our practicum students enter the classroom to observe, they are sometimes confronted with teacher attitudes and traditional monocultural classroom practices that, at best, do not reinforce the messages we try to convey in our teacher education program and, at worst, directly contradict them.

One solution to this problem is for colleges and universities to work in partnership with local school districts to offer professional development opportunities to area teachers. Many school districts offer professional development to their staff in the form of day-long workshops offered on release days. Such opportunities often stimulate thinking but do not offer the kind of sustained opportunity for ongoing reflection that the critical examination of such a difficult topic as racism requires. While districts might like to offer more in-depth professional development opportunities, the resources to do so are often scarce. When teacher education programs work in cooperation with school districts to provide such opportunities, the district benefits and the programs, it is hoped, gain a pool of professional educators who share the language of antiracist, multicultural education with our students and who will increasingly model the antiracist classroom practices we want our students to develop.

Such is the strategy we[1] have developed at Mount Holyoke College. We are currently offering a graduate-level course, "Effective Anti-Racist Classroom Practices for All Students," to three area school districts. Supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation[2] and the financial or in-kind contributions of the districts, we have been able to offer a high-quality professional development opportunity at a

1. Though the sole author of this chapter, I wish to acknowledge the help of several colleagues in this effort: Phyllis Brown, Joan Abdul-Rasool, Travis Tatum, Sandra Lawrence, Paula Elliott, and Judith Hudson.

2. The Carnegie Corporation grant, "Improving Interethnic Relations Among Youth," coauthored by Beverly Daniel Tatum and Phyllis C. Brown, is a three-part demonstration project involving professional development for educators, an after-school cultural identity group program for middle school students, and a parent outreach series of workshops. Only the professional development component of this project is described here. The grant covers the cost of professional development for one of the three school districts.

relatively low cost to the districts involved. What follows here is a description of an approach to antiracist professional development and some initial efforts to evaluate its impact on the participants.

In a race-conscious society, the development of a positive sense of racial/ethnic identity not based on assumed superiority or inferiority is an important task for *both* white people and people of color. The development of this positive identity is a lifelong process that often requires unlearning the misinformation and stereotypes we have internalized not only about others, but also about ourselves. The work of psychologists William Cross (1991), Janet Helms (1990), Jean Phinney (1993), and others has shown that this process is a developmental one that unfolds in rather predictable ways.

For young people of color, the process of racial/ethnic identity development typically begins to unfold in clearly observable ways in adolescence. For whites, the process may begin in adolescence, but particularly for those in predominantly white, socially segregated communities, it often does not begin until much later. As Lawrence and Tatum (1997) point out, many white adults have given little consideration to the meaning of their own racial group membership. The fact that adolescents of color, white youth, and many white educators are on very different developmental timelines in terms of racial identity is in itself often a source of misunderstanding and potential conflict in cross-racial interactions. Yet Helms (1990), Tatum (1992), and Carter and Goodwin (1994) all suggest that those individuals who have engaged in a process of examining their own racial or ethnic identity and who feel affirmed in it are more likely to be respectful of others' self-definition and are better able to work effectively in multiracial settings.

Informed by this understanding of racial/ethnic identity development as a positive educational goal, the semester-long professional development course requires participants (approximately 24 educators per semester) to examine closely their own sense of ethnic and racial identity and their attitudes toward other groups, and to develop effective antiracist curricula and educational practices that will be affirming of student identities. It is assumed that teachers must look at their own racial identity to be able to support the positive development of their students' racial/ethnic identities. They must

also be able to engage in racial dialogue themselves to facilitate students' conversation and encourage critical thinking about racism.

The professional development course described here was originally developed in 1993 for use with suburban educators involved in a voluntary school desegregation program (for more information about the initial development of the course, see Lawrence & Tatum, 1997; see also "White Educators as Allies," in Fine, Weis, Powell, & Wong, 1997). Based on the success of that initiative, the course was modified only slightly for use with this particular teaching population. The course was specifically designed to help educators recognize the personal, cultural, and institutional manifestations of racism and to become more proactive in response to racism within their school settings. Topics covered included an examination of the concepts of prejudice, racism, white privilege, and internalized oppression. In addition, theories of racial identity development for both whites and people of color were discussed, along with an investigation of the historical connection between scientific racism, intelligence testing, and assumptions about the "fixed nature" of students' intellectual capacity. The implications of these ideas for classroom practice were explicitly discussed. Course activities included lectures, videos, small and large group discussions, and exercises.

Between class meetings, participants wrote reflection papers in response to required readings and engaged in special assignments such as an analysis of cultural stereotypes, omissions, and distortions in their curricular materials. They also were encouraged to actively interrogate their expectations and assumptions about the potential for success of students of color. To date, the course has been offered 7 times, each time taught by a biracial team of two experienced antiracist educators. Approximately 175 educators from the three districts have participated voluntarily, and there are now waiting lists for future classes. Most of the participants are white, reflecting the employment pattern in their districts, but one of the districts serves a large Spanish-speaking population and has a significant number of Latino teachers working in its bilingual education program. The presence of these and a few other teachers of color has meant that while some semesters the class membership has been almost entirely white, other semesters have seen a very diverse mix of educators.

As part of the grant-funded initiative, there has been an ongoing program of data collection associated with this professional development effort. For four of the course offerings, an ethnographer has recorded class observations weekly. In addition, permission was requested, and in most cases granted, to collect copies of reflection papers and other written assignments as a way of tracking changes in participants' thinking over the course of the semester. Pre- and postinterviews were conducted with a subset (15) of the first two cohorts of educators. Course evaluations were collected at the end of every semester.

Thematic analysis of the written assignments and interview data is still under way, but the emerging themes of greater racial awareness, the abandonment of a color-blind ideology, and the recognition of the need to be actively antiracist in one's teaching, as illustrated in the following quotes, are consistent with earlier studies of the impact of antiracist professional development (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997a, 1997b).

The following quotes from reflection papers written near the end of the semester reflect some of the shifts in thinking that we have observed:

> Within the first two weeks of this course I began to realize how much I denied and withdrew from my responsibilities regarding racism. The most glaring mistake I have lived is that of embracing all my students without seeing their color. I used to be very proud that skin color didn't change my approach to my students and the intended curriculum in any way. I prided myself in my nonpartisan approach of equality for all. I realize now that this lack of acknowledgment left my students thinking I did not recognize their identity. *(white female high school teacher)*

> I now live with more information than misinformation. I try to dismiss the cultural stereotypes that affect the behavior of my friends and acquaintances caused by their limited information [and] resulting in prejudice. My thinking has been transformed and I feel confident that I can engage in dia-

logue more freely with others about racism. This class provided the forum for talk and discussion and reflection. It reeducated me. *(white female kindergarten teacher)*

My attitude about including writing in my classroom by diverse authors and representing more diverse points of view, worlds of experience, and versions of history has changed. This course has deepened my understanding of the need for young people to see themselves represented in their education. I never opposed this inclusion, but I never worked hard enough for it because I didn't understand its immediacy and importance for the kids I see every day. *(white male high school teacher)*

I was very naive [about] institutional racism. As a white person I was sheltered from what was going on around me. I credited myself with being fair and open-minded and liberal, but I was pretty much an ostrich hiding in the ground. Having taken this course has opened my eyes to things around me but also about myself. My liberal attitudes are held without any risk to myself. As I look over things, I find I have taken only safe actions, walking along the safest paths and rarely if ever rocked the boat. . . . I would like to continue to grow in awareness and strength but feel I need a lot of help from others who like myself are still on the fence or from others who have the courage of their convictions and have taken a stand. *(white female elementary school teacher)*

We have found that changing awareness of the significance of racism and racial identity in the educational process is the first step toward changing practice. We also have learned, as the last comment reflects, that many teachers feel the need for ongoing support as they reevaluate their classroom practices and institutional policies (Tatum & Knaplund, 1996). At the end of the first course offering, a group of course graduates formed a support group that met biweekly for the remainder of the school year. We are now seeking ways to institutionalize support for these educators through the creation of a summer institute.

Though this professional development initiative project is still a *work in progress, I am encouraged by the responsiveness of the educators* (including two school superintendents) who have participated. While it is too early for us to assess the impact for our teacher education students, we have already been able to expand our pool of practicum sites and cooperating teachers as a result of the project. It is not our expectation that one course will be a panacea for entrenched inequities and cultural stereotypes, but my colleagues and I believe that the existence of this model and other projects like it will give school superintendents, school committee members, building principals, and other key members of the educational community the courage to begin to break the institutional silence about race and racism, just as teacher educators are trying to break that silence themselves—and that is an important part of the process of change. Working in partnership through professional development of in-service educators is one strategy that will benefit all of us.

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CHAPTER 5

SEVEN PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING SOCIALLY JUST AND ETHNICALLY INCLUSIVE TEACHER PREPARATION

Michael O'Loughlin

Societies establish schools to educate a workforce, to control access to occupations through credentialing systems, and to serve the interests of dominant classes (Nasaw, 1979; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Because teacher educators occupy a strategic location in this process, they are expected to comply with regional and national accrediting standards and state regulations. Other pressures toward conservatism come from aspiring teachers, who often desire to reproduce their own experiences of schooling, as well as from local schools that seek to hire teachers who fit into the system. The prospect of producing socially active teachers is frustrated, too, by the lack of control teacher education programs have over the field experiences beginning teachers receive. Schools control practical training as well as the job market. As a result, students end up balancing the utopian hopes and ideals we project onto them with the harsh realities of tracking, segregation, explicit racism, and inequitable distribution of resources that are characteristic of public education in the U.S. today.

This situation makes it difficult to address issues of ethnic difference in teacher education programs. From the earliest days of the Indian conquest through the establishment of slavery to current xenophobic responses to immigrants from certain regions of the world, the racial fissures identified by W. E. B. Du Bois (1903/1990) as "the problem of the color line" continue to reside at the heart of the debate over differences in the U.S. Those of us concerned with social justice, equity, and access cling to the utopian hope that, by making new teachers conscious of the historical legacies of their own ethnic

formation and the insidious workings of institutional racism in our society, we may spark their consciousness so that they will join the struggle for a more just and equitable world.

My purpose is to explore ways in which teacher educators who are committed to addressing issues of equity and justice might move "from awareness to action" (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997, p. 333). While I am in no doubt as to the benefit of individual efforts to develop antiracist pedagogies, the challenge is to move beyond individual effort to develop a collective culture in our teacher education programs that values equity and social justice. The following principles are derived from my own experiences struggling with these issues in teacher education.

Principle #1: Place Social Justice and Equality on the Official Institutional Agenda

When NCATE accreditation came up for renewal at my previous institution, it seemed an unlikely vehicle for social change. Over the course of two accreditation visits, however, faculty in our programs were required to come together to articulate an institutional mission. The conversations helped raise faculty consciousness, and by the time of our most recent accreditation, faculty who shared concerns about social justice and inclusion were vocal in pushing for an explicit acknowledgment of their concerns. Institutional mission statements offer an opportunity to get a foot in the door. When a commitment to diversity and social justice is officially acknowledged, it provides authority for the inclusion of a similar commitment in departmental mission statements. These statements can then be invoked to blunt resistance and to leverage program changes that move the department toward enacting principles of social justice and inclusion.

Principle #2: To Recruit and Retain Faculty of Diverse Ethnic Origins, It Is Necessary to Adopt a Proactive Stance With Regard to Issues of Race and Social Justice

Addressing issues of difference in teacher education must include a commitment to the recruitment and retention of diverse faculty. While most institutions pay lip service to this idea, recruitment and retention will be difficult without significant changes in our under-

standing of what commitment to diversity means. As Reyes noted from her interviews with Chicana scholars in academia, for scholars of color there is "tremendous pressure to assimilate and emulate Eurocentric models of scholarship in order to be successful" (1997, p. 30). When ethnically diverse scholars are hired, too often they discover that they are expected to assimilate to a Eurocentric standard or that they have been hired with the presumption that they will be the standard bearer for diversity issues, serving as the racial conscience of the faculty. This kind of tokenism excuses faculty from self-examination. It is demeaning and demoralizing to scholars of color. Reyes proposes that "if universities are to retain these women, they must affirm genuine diversity, even the kind that challenges the dominant paradigm. They must legitimate and respect ethnic identity, and its expression in their work. They must recognize the negative effects of racism, sexism, and white privilege on women of color and create safe places for public discussion of these issues in the academy" (p. 31). Teacher educators must also be prepared to begin doing their own critical work around issues of difference before they begin seeking diverse faculty. Teacher educators should take the bold step of rethinking issues of difference and thereby create an inviting climate in which diverse scholars can contribute to this work.

Principle #3: To Recruit and Retain Student Teachers of Diverse Ethnic Origins, It Is Necessary to Adopt a Proactive Stance With Regard to Issues of Race and Social Justice

The absence of teachers of color is a significant concern for our society. Long Island, for instance, contains a population that is 11.4% African American, 9.3% Latino, and 3.8% Asian American. Yet only 3% of the teachers are African American, 2% are Latino, and 0.33% are Asian American (Evans, 1998). While there are many reasons for the absence of teachers of color in our schools (King, 1993), the generic quality of many of our teacher preparation programs cannot be ignored. Teacher education appears to be predicated on a universalizing assumption: One pedagogy fits all. We prepare our teachers generically, and we expect them to teach their students generically. As George Counts (1932/1969) noted and Delpit (1995) reiterated, generic pedagogies promulgated in teacher education programs

privilege the interests of white middle class children and their families.

Despite extensive scholarship on culturally relevant pedagogy (e.g., Delpit, 1995; Hilliard, 1995; Hollins, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Walshe, 1996), we have made little progress in constructing culturally inclusive teacher preparation programs. Students of color tell me that they are seeking programs that value difference and are committed to the educational potential of their communities. If we believe that the interests of specific communities are served by having members of those communities in the teaching profession, then we must create contextualized teacher education that addresses the needs of specific groups and communities. If we can do so in consultation with members of diverse communities, we will be successful in recruiting and retaining ethnically diverse student teachers.

Principle #4: Forge Connections With Diverse Communities to Construct Contextually Appropriate Teacher Education

We need to abandon the notion of generic teacher preparation and opt instead for partnership models in which we co-construct contextually sensitive teacher education programs with interested groups (e.g., public schools, adult literacy groups, grassroots organizations, churches, social service agencies). We should take the initiative in setting up discussions with local groups with a view to developing programs that are responsive to the needs of the communities our teachers serve. In view of the chasm between public schools and universities, on the one hand, and the even greater chasm between educational elites (i.e., public schools and universities combined) and poor communities, and communities of color in many areas, this task will not be easy. If teacher education is to exert any leadership in educational reform or social change, however, this step is essential.

Principle #5: Make a Commitment to Explore the Meaning of Whiteness in Teacher Education and Schooling

> Who teaches white teachers about the meaning of race? What do they need to know? How well prepared are white teachers to understand their own "whiteness" and the meaning it has

> when interacting with students and parents of color? How cognizant are they of their own racial socialization and how it may influence their perceptions of the performance potential of all their students? (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997, p. 333)

Lawrence and Tatum name a truth that is gaining increasing recognition in discourses about difference: Before we venture to change others, we must change ourselves. Before white teachers can undertake the task of bringing an antiracist stance to white students and before they can engage students of diverse ethnic backgrounds, they must become conscious of their own ethnic formation and the manner in which, by virtue of their insertion in white supremacist discourses, they benefit daily from being white. As Frankenberg noted, "Finding the way home, then, entails finding the way out—out of the master's house" (1996, p. 3). Winant explains the complexity of whiteness in the U.S. as a struggle by liberal whites to advocate for equality and social justice while simultaneously maintaining a system of which they are the primary beneficiaries: "The contemporary crisis of whiteness—its dualistic allegiance to privilege and equality, to color consciousness and color-blindness, to formally equal justice and to substantive social justice—can be discerned in the contradictory character of white identity today" (1997, p. 42). Whites are "socialized in a racially constructed world [and] are taught not to be aware of themselves in racial terms" (Carter, 1997, p. 199). Breaking this silence involves confronting white student teachers with their complicitness in the social construction of their own racial identity and economic status through construction of inferior racial others. Frankenberg poignantly describes what it felt like for her when she finally "witnessed" her own whiteness:

> What went on for me, what stunned me, often, into an outer silence and inner turmoil might, once again, be easiest to begin naming as a process of remapping. The ways my world was put together, and the way Estée's was made, were different in a way that literally shattered the logics and certainties in which I had formerly, and unthinkingly, been ensconced. (1996, p. 12)

Assisting student teachers in uncovering their own ethnic histories, the relationships between their ethnicities and patterns of colonial domination, and the workings of contemporary white privilege in the economic and social realm is a complex undertaking. It goes without saying that it cannot occur unless the teacher educators who undertake this work with students have begun this journey for themselves.

Principle #6: Prepare Teachers for Specific Ethnic Contexts by Extending Their Knowledge and Changing Their Attitudes

While most teacher education programs nod toward multiculturalism, few if any programs systematically address issues of difference. To do so, we need to address student attitudes, provide knowledge about the history of diverse groups, and focus on culturally relevant pedagogy. Changing attitudes is perhaps the most complex. Assuming most student teachers are white and have grown up unconscious of the institutional racism in which they participate, a series of carefully sequenced workshops on unlearning racial oppression is essential. Students who have taken my summer institute on autobiography and racial identity have shown themselves capable of significant attitude shifts in a single week (copies of the syllabus and related materials are available from the author). The long-term benefit of such workshops is questionable, however, unless the content of the workshops is systematically interwoven with regular course content.

With respect to the knowledge we teach, much of the generic information imparted in teaching methods courses might be replaced by specific information on diverse groups and an exploration of the politics, sociology, and linguistic bases of culturally relevant pedagogy. Students are often woefully ignorant of the historical origins of diverse groups and of the role education has played in privileging the life chances of some groups at the expense of others. I currently teach a course in family and community literacy that surveys the cultural characteristics of the main ethnic groups in the U.S. Courses like this one offer a useful starting point. People who plan to teach in specific communities, however, need much more specific cultural knowledge about those specific communities to be successful. Rather than ge-

neric teacher preparation, we might do well to offer contextualized programs that prepare students for the communities in which they intend to work. For students who intend to work in white communities, a thorough grounding in the history of the civil rights struggles in the U.S. as well as opportunities to unlearn white privilege is essential.

Principle #7: Develop Antiracist Practicum and Field Experience Sites

In responding to pressure from accreditation agencies to prepare students for diversity, teacher education programs often attempt to diversify field placements. The results can be disastrous. In segregated communities like those that abound on Long Island, often this means shifting students from all white schools to schools populated entirely by students of color for some of their placements. In the absence of a systematic curriculum that addresses the politics of ethnic and class difference, there is a real danger that such an approach will serve to reinforce negative stereotypes of communities of color. This situation is exacerbated if faculty give students the message that these placements are inferior but that they must put up with them to meet their diversity requirement. Furthermore, if the implicit ideology of the teacher education program is that best practice is white middle class pedagogy, then it becomes impossible for student teachers to find virtue in schools in poor communities. Observing teachers with limited resources teaching poor children who lack middle class cultural capital, student teachers are susceptible to adopting a pathological perspective on class and ethnic difference.

Too often, also, we are cowardly about acknowledging the presence in our society of what Anyon (1997) calls "ghetto schools"—schools for children of color that embody the worst forms of racial oppression. By placing our student teachers in such schools without speaking out against such brutal practices and without enabling our students to name and analyze these practices, we send a very powerful message that poor children of color deserve such treatment. If we are to take seriously our responsibility to educate our students to work with diverse populations, we need to be willing to work collaboratively with community groups and open-minded public school officials to help develop models of culturally appropriate peda-

gogy that will serve to enhance the educational services they deliver. We also must provide our student teachers with opportunities to practice socially just, respectful, and culturally relevant pedagogy.

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CHAPTER 6

SEEING WITH DIFFERENT EYES: REEXAMINING TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS THROUGH RACIAL LENSES

A. Lin Goodwin

As a teacher educator, I am continuously in a wide variety of schools, overseeing the progress of the preservice student teachers with whom I work. As a member of a prestigious education institution, I am perceived as having the credentials, knowledge, and experience to be invited often to participate in and assist with school reform efforts, which in turn exposes me further still to more schools, particularly those in large, urban districts. As a person of color who struggles in solidarity with other educators of color to achieve the dream of educational equity and full access for every child, I cannot help but examine each school, each encounter I have with teachers, each classroom observation I make through "racialized" lenses. My personal gauge of school effectiveness or good teaching invariably boils down to how the most vulnerable members of the community, typically children and parents of color, are seen and treated. I am often angered, but sadly seldom surprised, by what this personal measure of school success helps me to see.

This paper is not going to be yet another academic treatise on the inequitable distribution of resources. We have ample evidence that schools serving the poor and "minorities" are usually given the least, whether we are talking about the physical school plant, the depth and richness of the curriculum, or the expertise and quality of teachers (see, e.g., Carter & Goodwin, 1994; National Center for Education Statistics, 1985; Corcoran, Walker, & White, 1988; Council of Great City Schools, 1987; Darling-Hammond, 1990, 1995; Dreeben, 1987; Fine, 1991; Garcia & Pearson, 1991; Kozol, 1991;

Moll, 1991). Neither will it extend the many conversations we have in academic circles about uneven academic achievement among students of color, particularly African American and Latino children, the persistence of segregated tracking, high dropout rates among "minorities," or culturally biased tests. We are drowning in evidence that supports these arguments (see, e.g., Carter & Goodwin, 1994; College Board, 1985; Fine, 1991; Ford, 1996; Goodlad, 1984; Hilliard, 1990; Oakes, 1985; Oakes & Lipton, 1990; Ornstein, 1982). Finally, it will not be an exhortation for culturally relevant pedagogy or multicultural curricula or an expanded canon or for more teachers of color. Many scholars (even including myself) have spoken at length about the need for and benefits of these interventions and innovations (see, e.g., Banks, 1997; Delpit, 1995; Foster, 1995; Goodwin, 2000; Grant & Sleeter, 1989; Irvine, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1992; Ramsey, 1987). I resonate to and depend upon this body of literature to help me transform my own practice and to aid me in assessing the act of teaching with different eyes.

No, this paper will not focus on that work despite the intrinsic worthiness of it and the urgency with which it speaks. Rather, the purpose of this piece is to revisit the notion of teachers' expectations for students with a particular focus on race, to look closely at how race continues to be a crippling factor when it comes to how children of color are perceived and treated by their teachers. While volumes have been written about teachers' expectations for students and how they can interfere with (or support) student achievement (see, e.g., Brophy & Good, 1986; Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Dusek & Gail, 1983; Good & Brophy, 1984; Garibaldi, 1988; Irvine, 1991), I feel they deliberately avoid identifying *racism* as the reason that children of color, particularly African American and Latino children, experience school lives so painful and limiting, even as some compare the experiences of majority group children and children of color (one exception is Comer, 1989). Thus, the literature describing the appalling education too many children of color must endure often talks in terms of inequity, inequality, stereotypes, discrimination, lack of fairness, injustice, immorality, and unethical behavior. There seems to be a reluctance to talk about race and racism directly, to call the problem what it seems so patently to be. Why?

Race is perhaps *the* most volatile issue in America today. Discussions that venture into this arena are usually heated, emotional, controversial, hurtful, and full of conflict. There seems to be no middle ground, no way to talk about race in deliberate, thoughtful, constructive, and educative ways. Indeed, most of us prefer to avoid the conflict and confrontation that arise around the most simple activities. We may be angered when we see adults litter the streets, jump the queue, abuse salespeople, or run a red light. But few of us feel confident confronting these strangers by helping them understand why their behavior is socially irresponsible. When we do choose to confront, we usually are driven to anger, and we accuse, demean, or chastise. We seem to vacillate between complicity through silence and furious censure. We can find no middle ground.

Race is an issue that brings strong, overwhelming emotions to the surface. It is no surprise that an issue as serious and complicated as racism is considered far too passionate to challenge. For instance, many of us experience unresolved conflict around significant issues that involve race—affirmative action, restrictions on immigration and immigrants, police brutality, and welfare reform. While we may each have strong opinions about these issues, we are often insecure about our positions, which leads to concern about how our opinions might cause others to see us. We seek to protect ourselves from coming across in ways we do not intend—perhaps as prejudiced, intolerant, unpatriotic, a "bleeding-heart" liberal, insensitive, naive. We shield ourselves with silence and avoidance. Another pervasive perception that hinders candid discussions about race is the misunderstanding that talking about race labels one racist. This perception seems to particularly affect whites, even those who are nondiscriminatory, who experience feelings of "guilt by association." They therefore resist engaging in discourse about race and racism because it might mean "seeing oneself as an 'oppressor', one of the bad guys" (Tatum, 1994, p. 463).

In addition, many Americans seem to believe that racism no longer exists, that it was dealt with in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Thus, current discussions about racism are confusing to them because, from their perspective, society has changed for the better and "minorities" now have the same rights and benefits that dominant group members enjoy. This belief in a mostly nonracist America is

fueled by stereotypical images of racists and racism. Many Americans define racists as Ku Klux Klan members in white hoods; they associate racism with lone acts of hate and bias (Hacker, 1992). They distance themselves from those images and from these individual "deviants" and, consequently, fail to recognize or discern the effects of institutionalized racism embedded in the very fabric of everyday life. Thompson and Carter (1997) describe this as *contemporary racism*. Contemporary racism is less visible because it is embedded in the very structures of our society and permeates perceptions and conceptions of people of color. It is my position that it is today's racism that allows too many schools with high "minority" populations to be joyless places where oppressive conditions exist and where learning is defined as conformity and teaching as control. It is today's racism that permits educators to define children of color as problematic and inadequate.

In one school where the children come from predominantly poor and non-English-speaking families, the culture seems to be one where teachers and administrators can humiliate students with impunity. Each visit exposes me to teachers screaming at children, using insults and put-downs. Doors are often open and teachers see me walk by, but they express no embarrassment. Hardly any of the teachers are aware of who I am: I could be anyone. What is more alarming than their punitive treatment of students is the fact that my presence does not curb their behavior in any way. Harsh treatment is the norm.

In another private school where most of the students of color are "scholarship" students, the one African American child in a class is clearly isolated. She has no friends, is termed an underachiever, and submits to a curriculum that "acknowledges" her presence by including the slave trade in a social studies unit. Another school finds a teacher so frustrated with a student of color that she bans him to a hallway for a period. His desk is moved out of the classroom. In yet another classroom, I watch a child who is a new arrival to this country and speaks no English left to manage as best he can. The language barrier permits the teacher to abdicate responsibility for his education. Left to his own devices, it is not long before he becomes distracted and disruptive, at which point he begins to receive abundant attention so that his "behavior" problems can be contained. In my visits to another classroom, I notice a young girl's lack of engage-

ment. A single conversation with her reveals that she has few clues about what is going on in the lesson. But she is quiet and well-behaved and does little to demand attention. In every subsequent visit, I make it a point to talk to her and help her with her work. I find her to be motivated and eager for assistance. But this is not a success story. My few visits cannot possibly overturn years of apparent neglect. Before long she moves on to middle school, where she is likely destined to become another statistic, another student of color who fails to thrive.

These individual anecdotes represent only a small percentage of what I notice about the education and care of children of color in schools. While I do not mean to demean the work of committed educators who strive to reach all children, I cannot help but feel dispirited when practically every child I see pulled out for remediation or the resource room is a child of color, when the child or children identified as the most troublesome are almost always children of color—particularly African American boys—when the lowest performers typically are children of color. And I am most angered by the fact that we are not troubled enough by this pattern of events. So while the profession worries about the achievement of children of color and devotes energy to examining and documenting the "problem" ever more carefully and extensively, I would argue that we have enough data and that these data have not enabled us to face ourselves. "Racial boundaries, erected over hundreds of years, have become deeply embedded in the social and psychological makeup of all Americans" (Carter & Goodwin, 1994, p. 293). None of us can escape racism; it permeates all strata and structures of society and seeps into our every perception, image, and action. Racism allows us to believe that it is *normal* for children of color to fail, to be low achieving, to be neglected, to be seen as pathological. As educators, our low expectations of them remain undisturbed because the status quo dictates that this is the way things are supposed to be. Even while we seek to remediate children of color, we remain unsurprised that they need remediating. What should be considered stark aberrations and deep contradictions—that certain children just seem to be falling behind, that gifted classrooms always seem to have few children of color, that "minorities" and the poor always seem to do less well than

the white, middle class on tests, that children of color are invariably behavior problems—are accepted as business as usual.

We have much work to do. But the focus of this work should first be acknowledging and exposing racism as the root of low and inappropriate expectations for children who are poor and culturally and linguistically diverse. Until we do so, I truly believe that we as teacher educators will continue to convince ourselves that we are doing something about their "problems," even as we unwittingly perpetuate them.

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CONCLUSION

TENETS TO GUIDE ANTIRACIST TEACHER EDUCATION PRACTICE

Sabrina Hope King and Louis A. Castenell, Jr.

As we consider the implications of racism for teacher education reform, A. Lin Goodwin states it simply: "We have so much work to do." These essays include themes that are readily accessible but powerful to those who already think about racism as they work and live as well as perspectives that may be thought- and action-provoking for all readers. As teacher educators begin to or continue to think about racism, it is clear that there is a lifetime of thought and work to engage in. This concluding section offers eight tenets for the deep thinking and action teacher educators are encouraged to engage in based on implications from the work presented in this monograph and from the editors' own experiences as African American teacher educators.

DEAL WITH THE WORD *RACISM*—AND ITS MORE SUBTLE COUNTERPARTS

It sounds easy enough. Our experience in schools of education and in racially mixed settings suggests that simply stating the word *racism* causes conflict or perceived conflict and that people (including educators) avoid using the word. (Our experience in all-black settings suggests a much freer use of the word *racism* and corresponding acknowledgment of the gravity of the reality of racism.) "Let's not exaggerate" is commonly heard when faculty discuss the current reality of racism. As individuals, as parts of departments in schools of education, and as teachers of future educators, we need to deal with the word. What is our understanding of the meaning of the word? Do we feel comfortable using the word—why or why not? Do we feel

comfortable talking about our use and understanding of the word with our colleagues who suggest the word is too strong—too harmful to academic and school communities, for example? What more can we do to learn about the meaning of *racism* and the manifestations of the reality of racism (racial advantages and racial disadvantages), and how can we begin or continue to name these words in our work? Avoiding the word will not cause racism to disappear.

Put on Our Racism Eyeglasses and Think Beyond Common Visions of Racism

Once we embrace the word and have facilitated our colleagues' comfort with it, we need to name racism where we see it. We should look for and identify it, and determine ways to act upon all (or as many as we can) manifestations of racism and racial inequality—both blatant and more subtle or hidden. With our racism glasses securely and confidently in place, we need to name what we see and hear. We need to expressively note examples of racial advantage and racial disadvantage. The insights provided by the authors in this monograph are helpful in this regard. For example, as teacher educators we often work in schools as facilitators of professional development and/or as facilitators of student teaching and internships. As Tatum and Goodwin share, we have to think about racism as we engage in this work. Tatum advocates a partnership between schools of education and local school districts that includes a sustained critical examination of racism. The coursework she describes makes sense.

When we work in schools or when we work in schools with our students, let us all examine, name, and work to change instances of racial disadvantage and racial advantage. Let us encourage our colleagues and our students to reflect upon Goodwin's article on teachers' expectations and figure out an action plan to consciously change behavior.

Consider Our Personal Experiences as an Impetus for a Place to Begin

A reviewer for this manuscript questioned Fennimore's assumption that most white teacher educators probably believe they incorporate effective multicultural teaching strategies and commented that if indeed they did, the need for this topic to be addressed would be

less pressing. Clearly, it becomes important for us to use our own experiences as a place to begin and as a way to engage in discourse with our colleagues. Yet we cannot make assumptions and should emphasize that a starting point for working collaboratively on the delicate but essential issue of racism is the sharing of experiences and thus perspectives. We might consider asking our colleagues and students to preface all statements with the phrase "My experience is . . . thus, my perspective is . . . . "

Consider the Voices and the Experiences of Our Colleagues, Our Students, and Communities We Avoid as an Impetus to Learn and Act

This tenet builds upon one's consideration of personal experiences. In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, Adams, Bell, and Griffin (1997) posit the notion of learning edges—instances where people are most likely to learn—as difficult and uncomfortable. This work suggests that when we encounter such spaces, we learn to recognize our signs of discomfort and choose to use these instances as learning opportunities. When we are challenged and rise to meet the challenge, we are able to really learn.

While we realize that our experiences shape our perspectives, we also have to be willing to learn from those whose experiences and perspectives differ markedly from our own.

Delineate the Work We Do as Teacher Educators and Include Antiracism as a Component of the Agenda at Each Level

As individuals and as members of groups, we need to insert an antiracist and equity agenda into each component of our work—teaching prospective and practicing teachers; developing curricula and university programs; recruiting faculty and students; advising students; participating in professional development, research studies, writing, and consulting; and reviewing the work of our colleagues. We cannot wait until the university or school of education mandates the recruitment of *x* number of faculty of color. We need to initiate this work on our own and educate ourselves as to the myriad of issues involved. We need to learn from Elijah's description of Scott as we realize that recruiting faculty of color involves complex work beyond

simply placing faculty on a campus. Working toward retention—creating environments that truly support and are inclusive of diversity—is self-questioning and community-building work that is essential if we are truly interested and able to address racism.

We believe it is important to begin any place you deem appropriate. There is room for initiatives both large and small.

Be Committed to Lead and to Challenge the Status Quo in the Names of Justice, Equity, and the Future of Our Children

By now, we realize that antiracist work is difficult. As individuals who are committed to antiracism within our institutions, work, and lives and who are cognizant of the challenge, we have to be proactive leaders. Fennimore's discussion of white resistance to desegregation is a powerful piece for reflection. She exposes the social contract that often exists in urban school districts and continues to privilege upwardly mobile parents, and she highlights the leadership work that we must do. She further details how the selection of faculty by schools of education continues to contribute to a lack of transformation, which presents another implication for our leadership responsibilities.

We need to develop a reconstructionist social action agenda (Banks & Banks, 1997) and consciously work to implement it.

Develop Collaborative and Supportive Alliances With Colleagues Whom We Respect and Who Respect Us

We are often questioned when speaking with our students or with faculty in school districts about issues related to multicultural education, antiracist teaching, or social justice about how to respond to the naysayers or how to deal with an increasingly conservative political climate. Our response is to stay focused on the children and focused on what we know to be in the best interests of equity for all children. Rather than debate whether or not we think English should be the national language, we focus on providing children whose first language is other than standard English with an array of educational experiences that will prepare them to be successful in this country.

We must surround ourselves with colleagues who can advance the same agenda, because our intellectual and creative energy needs

to be preserved for positive work. O'Loughlin's piece unflinchingly exposes the turmoil many professors go through as they attempt to manage a conflicting and very often hostile environment. We need to do a better job of supporting each other and not falling into the trap of writing off colleagues who are "too vocal" or "too angry." We need to be able to talk with colleagues who rightfully feel the same way so we can ignore the ostracization of faculty who become isolated or who isolate themselves. Embracing ourselves with support can only make us better and stronger in our work to help teacher educators end racism in the academy and work to address educational equity so that all students can learn and live well.

Get Organized, Think, and Act

As Nina Simone says, "Enough said."

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Louis A. Castenell, Jr., coeditor of this volume, is dean of the University of Georgia College of Education, where he was appointed in 1999 after serving for nearly a decade as dean of the University of Cincinnati's education college. Previously, he was dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences at Xavier University in Louisiana. Throughout his career as an administrator, Castenell has worked to increase opportunities for minorities in teacher education and to support promotion and tenure for women and minorities.

He currently serves on the Academic Advisory Committee on Educator Preparation, an advisory council to the Georgia Board of Regents. He also was recently named to the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, and he will be chair of the board of directors of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education for 2001-2002. Castenell previously headed committees on cultural diversity and multicultural education for two national education associations and served as cochair of Ohio's National Commission on Teaching and America's Future and chair of the Ohio Standards for Teacher Education. He also served 10 years as chair of the President's Advisory Council on Race Relations and Human Decency.

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texts on faculty members' lives and work as they directly and indirectly influence the professional development of preservice and inservice teachers.

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Goodwin serves as a consultant and staff developer to a wide variety of organizations, including school districts, philanthropic foundations, higher education institutions, and professional educational organizations around issues of diversity, educational equity, assessment, and teacher education. Her work in multicultural curriculum development has taken her throughout Europe and Asia, where she has collaborated with teacher education faculty, school administrators, and teachers to bring about school and curriculum reform.

Beverly M. Gordon is associate professor of curriculum studies in the cultural studies of education program, School of Educational Policy and Leadership, The Ohio State University. She is currently vice president of the American Educational Research Association's Division G—Social Context, and she has served as president and program chair of AERA's Research Focus on Black Education Special Interest Group. She was the first African American woman to be elected a department chair at Ohio State. Gordon has served as a curriculum consultant for the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center in Wilberforce, OH.

Gordon's scholarship weaves together curriculum theory and history, knowledge production and dissemination in teacher education, and African American epistemology. She has published in *The Journal of Education, The Journal of Negro Education, Social Education, Educational Policy, Theory Into Practice, Theory and Research in Social Education,* and *Urban Review,* and has authored chapters in numerous books.

Sabrina Hope King, coeditor of this volume, currently is working in a New Jersey school district, where she describes her work as "supporting the improved and accelerated instruction of students who need and deserve the best." Her prior professional experiences have included positions with the New York City Board of Education, The University of Illinois at Chicago, Hofstra University, and other educational agencies.

King's work over the past 21 years as a teacher, professor, administrator, consultant, and scholar has focused on creating educational environments where high expectations, equity, and meaningful instruction come together to ensure that all students are provided with a real opportunity to learn. She seeks collaboration with other educators committed to exploring the significance of race in the new millennium, hoping to tackle head-on the continued achievement gap and to help all students achieve and surpass state and national standards.

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Michael O'Loughlin is visiting assistant professor of education studies at Adelphi University while on leave from Hofstra University. He is also completing postdoctoral studies in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy at Derner Institute of Advanced Psychological Studies, Adelphi University. O'Loughlin teaches courses on the emotional and cultural lives of children and adolescents and frequently consults in urban schools. He is conducting research on the development of racial subjectivity in children and adolescents, and he currently is writing about the psychology of race and the racism of psychology.

Beverly Daniel Tatum is dean of the college and professor of psychology and education at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. She focuses her work on race relations in America—particularly black families in white America, racial identity in teens, and race in the classroom. She has toured extensively, leading workshops on racial identity development and its impact in the classroom, and has published numerous works on race and educational issues. For almost 20 years, Tatum has taught a class in the psychology of racism.

In her 1997 book *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? and Other Conversations About Race*, Tatum argues that straight talk about racial identity is essential to the nation. She was one of three authors to appear with President Clinton at the Akron, OH, town meeting on race in December 1997.

David Whitehorse is associate professor of multicultural/multilingual and social science education at California State University at San Marcos. He was a member of the AACTE Committee on Multicultural Education for 3 years and its chair for 1 year. He currently serves on the AACTE Committee on Accreditation. Whitehorse is a member at large on the board of directors of the National Association for Multicultural Education and is a Board of Examiners member for the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. His research focuses on issues of educational equity, social justice, and the alignment of standards and assessments and issues of diversity.

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